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PRICE 2 CENTS.

WHAT TO DO?

A Spicy and Sound Review of the Existing Parties.

Comrade James T. Van Rensselaer Delivered Before Section Los Angeles, Cal., the Below Address in Which the Old Parties, Together with their Several Off-shoots of all Pretences, are Photographed and Contrasted with the Bona Fide Party of Emancipation, the Socialist Labor Party.

I was reading the other day of a man in Los Angeles who got himself so deep into debt that not one of his creditors had been able to see him for months. He must have been the father of the little girl who was given the following example in arithmetic. "Suppose," said her teacher, "that you owed the butcher \$17.20, and the grocer \$15.17, and the coal merchant \$11.15, and the landlord \$57.11, and—?" "Oh," chimed in the little girl, "then we should move." The condition of this family reminds me of the story of Tommy and the Rocking-Horse. Tommy's father had bought him a nice new rocking-horse. Two days later returning home from his office he found the rocking-horse smashed to pieces. "Tommy," said the father, "how wrong of you to break your rocking-horse." Tommy looked first at the remains of the rocking-horse and then at his father, and tearfully remarked, "What's the use of a horse till it's broke?" Now my sympathies are all with the horse, for under present conditions what's the use of a horse, or a man, or for that matter of anything else if he's broke. I was reading a poem the other day, which very beautifully illustrated this view of life. I have taken to reading poetry lately, as next to a Socialist meeting it is one of the few consolations we have left to us under the competitive system. This particular poet is evidently a man of Shakespearean vision, for while picturing the wonderful progress of modern surgery, his description with equal truth applies to other modern conditions. Say, he:

They saved off his arms and his legs, They took out his injured veins, And they deftly extracted his brain. 'Twas a triumph of surgical skill Such as never was heard of till then; 'Twas the subject of lectures before Conventions of medical men. The news of this wonderful thing Was heralded far and wide; But as for the patient, there's nothing to say, Except, of course, that he died.

Does not this sentiment profoundly appeal to the gratitude of the working-man who has so greatly benefited by the spread of education and the development of machinery? In reading those lines I am reminded of the story of the little girl who was asked to write down the various miracles mentioned in the Bible. Amongst others she wrote—"David slew Goliath with a sling and a stone." Her mother seeing this remarked that that could hardly be called a miracle. Whereupon she replied—"But I am sure it was, Mama, for it was a miracle it ever hit him."

Now, good friends, I believe you will agree with me that in this mysterious world the greatest of miracles is that under the present system so many of us are still alive. The question then before us is "What shall we do?" Our church brethren disclaim any urgent desire to tackle the problem, so whether we like it or not we are forced into the field of politics. I am frank to admit that I don't like politics. The present political parties always remind me of the old proverb:

He digged a pit, he digged it deep, He digged it for his brother; And then he did himself fall in 'Till the pit he digged for 't' other.

Viewed from the outside all one sees is a number of men industriously digging pits for other men to fall into, and then falling into the excavations themselves. It is not a pleasant spectacle to contemplate, but as a student of sociology I am of course interested in this digging process. Only the other day I heard an excellent reason for voting the Republican rather than the Democratic ticket. Said an ardent Republican, "You have this advantage in voting for a Republican candidate, you feel confident that it will take \$5,000 to buy him while with a Democrat, you know, it will need only \$500." The qualitative and quantitative difference between the two therefore is \$4,500. I admit the force of this argument for it only serves as further evidence of the class struggle.

When I think of the Populist party my mind runs back to the old story of a man deserting a sinking ship. This was aptly illustrated out in San Bernardino County a week or so ago. It appears that the hobos struck against working on the rock pile. They preferred to live in confinement and on bread and water twice a day. Their reason for striking was that as they were marched through the street instead of on the sidewalk, they were taunted with being "middle-of-the-roaders." This for obvious reasons they considered a vile slander. They probably felt themselves placed in the awkward predicament of the two ladies in a Los Angeles trolley car. Some of you may remember the story. The car was on a down-town trip when half-a-dozen people, five women and one man, got aboard. Three of the women and the man found seats together, but the other two went to another part of the car, thereby leaving it doubtful as to whether they were members of the party or not. The man with the three ladies, instead of giving



TRUE ENOUGH IN 1757 — BUT — WONT HOLD GOOD IN 1899.
"A PLOWMAN ON HIS LEGS IS HIGHER THAN A GENTLEMAN ON HIS KNEES" BENJ. FRANKLIN

the exact change, offered a half-dollar in payment of the fares, and the conductor was as much in the dark as ever. To inquire was plainly the only way to solve the mystery. With a polite wave of the hand toward the two women in the further corner, he asked blandly: "Are those ladies implicated?"

We have only the Silver Republicans and that singular band the Christian Socialist left for dissection. As to the former we all know that at the Silver Republican Club on Second street an ungrammatical sign now states: "This here club is closed." Whether placed there by the sheriff or after a properly called meeting of the club, no one seems to know, neither the sheriff nor any of the members themselves. This probably is symbolical of the condition of the party for no one in the heavens above, nor in the waters under the earth has any light whether the Silver Republican party is in existence or not.

As to the Christian Socialists, they claim to be independent of all things. From the heretical utterances—both theologic and economic—of their high priest, this remarkable independence goes even to all things necessary to salvation either here or hereafter. Its chief expression is found in an independent right to ALWAYS vote the Democratic ticket. Their leading exponent, the most brilliantly muddled man of the Nineteenth Century, says that "Christian Socialism is a will-o'-the-wisp with which to deceive the public." Why a Christian should wish to deceive, and why a Socialist should not care to educate, forms a curious study in mental phenomena. The trouble with this will-o'-the-wisp business is, that whatever the Reverend Apostle may mean by it, the public won't deceive worth a cent. The Christians refuse to have anything to do with the "will," and the Socialists scorn "the wisp." Therefore, having chopped off the head and the tail, all that is left is the 0 which here as elsewhere stand for NIT.

In the matter of Socialists using the old parties to attain their end, I am reminded of a story of the Berlin Fire Department. The Germans in their arrangements for putting out fires closely resemble the Americans in their methods of stamping out economic abuses. They are behind the times. The story is told of a certain fire in Berlin where the hose was too short to reach the flames. One of the firemen noticing this rushed up to the fire chief and said: "Captain, the fire is in the fourth story and our hose will only reach to the second, what shall we do?" "Wait till the fire gets down to the second," replied the captain undismayed. That is the way with most of the so-called reformers. They want to wait until half a man is destroyed before applying a remedy. The truth of the matter is that the old parties are short of hose, while the Socialist Labor party is the only party which has hose long enough to cover the whole economic question.

But there is even a less satisfactory reason for supporting the old parties. Of this I was reminded by a story told in the "War Memoirs of a Chaplain." While before Petersburg, doing siege work in the summer of 1864, the northern soldiers had wormy hardtack served out to them. It was a severe trial to the men. Breaking open the biscuits and finding live worms, they would throw the pieces in the trenches, although the orders were to keep the trenches clean. A brigade officer of the day seeing some of these scraps, called out sharply: "Throw that hardtack out of the trenches." Then, as the men promptly gathered it up, he added: "Don't you know that you're no business to throw hardtack in the trenches?" Out from the injured soldier heart came this reasonable explanation: "We've thrown it out two or three times, sir, but it crawls back." This is about all the satisfaction one gets from working with the old parties. No sooner is a fresh measure of reform pushed through than the evil crawls back. No sooner is a "trust abolished"

(Continued on page 3.)

TO THE COAL MINERS OF AMERICA.

Comrades:—For the past forty years the cry has gone up repeatedly from the coal mining towns and patches of the nation: "Organize, organize, organize." Nobly have you responded to each succeeding cry, only to find that the echoes of that cry were the dirges of defeat.

Knowing this full well, the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance would not dare to come before you with that same siren cry if its members were not supremely conscious of the fact that in the carrying out of its principles alone can the miners and all other workers secure the sweets of victory instead of the bitters of defeat. Believing this, for reasons that we will now set forth, the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance holds again the banner of revolt, determined to continue its agitation until every coal miner in the land from Pennsylvania to Oregon is marshalled beneath its folds, and every ignoble Labor Fakir who has fattened on the miners' misery is driven from Labor's Camp into the capitalist camp where they belong.

For the better understanding of the principles, methods and tactics of the S. T. & L. A. or New Trades Unionism, let us briefly review the conditions our organization must grapple with in the coal mining districts.

1st. Each time the miners have run up the standard of defiance for a fight with the operators, their standard has been trampled in the mire of defeat.

2nd. Each succeeding year has found the conditions of the miner growing steadily worse, until at present they stagger under a burden of misery far heavier than is borne by any other branch of the working class.

3rd. Every act of legislation, without exception, passed "in the interest of the coal miner" has—if it hurt the operators—been declared unconstitutional by the Courts that the Hannas and Rands and other large operators control.

4th. In the pluck-me-store the miners are cheated, their wives insulted, and red-hand robbery stalks supreme.

5th. The pure and simple British trades union form of organization that the miners have looked to for assistance is organized on principles that were all right 100 years ago, but are all wrong now, hence, organized on false principles, the miners were unknowingly organized for their own slaughter; and are led, wherever so organized, by a band of Labor Skates who are either ignoramuses or knaves; this applies with particular strength to Hatchford, Dolan, Warner, McKay, Mitchell, McBride, and Lewis, etc., the men in control of the miners' organizations to-day. Let us say right here that we Socialists are often charged with being "abusive," whereas we but call things by their right names. He who reads this call to a conclusion will find sufficient facts set forth to brand each United Mine Workers' leader as a Judas to the miner; a wretch, who grows fat as the miner grows lean; who sings to an accompaniment of the miner's tears.

6th. Last, and most important of all, the condition that the S. T. & L. A. has to grapple with is the merchandise character of the miners' labor power. That is to say, the miner sells his labor power in the labor market the same as all other merchandise is sold—as the coal that he mines is sold—i. e., according to the law of supply and demand. The supply of coal miners is to-day enormous (400,000), the demand for coal miners is small (200,000). Hence the price of the coal miners' labor power, which is his wages, is small, and is growing smaller all the time. The organization that can grapple with that last condition is the one that can put hope in the hearts, fire in the breasts, and light in the eyes of the miner. And of such is the S. T. & L. A.

Let us review these conditions, and in doing so we shall take the last one first.

The tiny smoky lamp on the front of the miner's cap is all sufficient to show him the cracks in the coal, the clay veins, the dead work, and the danger spots of his "place." There is another tiny lamp burning with a still smaller flame beneath the miner's cap, that is the lamp of reason, lit with the oil of intelligence, and the wick of study. Set this lamp to work in the various dark places of your life, Brother Miner, until you reach that spot marked LABOR MARKET. There you will see two miners looking for one job. With this result: STARVATION WAGES. Keep that lamp twined on that spot and inquire when or how can the day dawn that will show one miner looking for one job, for then he shall have full and plenty. With two men looking for one job he has starvation. Turn then that lamp of reason on the bloated faces of your capitalist politicians and labor skates and say: "Official figures show me that there are two miners for one job, the Sullivan puncher and the Link belt machines are displacing miners so rapidly that there will soon be three men for one job. This will drive my wages still lower, with greater hunger and misery for me and my loved ones. Tell me, then, how we can have that condition of affairs where there will be one man for one job with plenty for every miner in the land." He, the labor fakir or politician, can make but one reply, if he desires to continue to earn his blood money, and that reply is this: "The law of supply and demand will settle matters. When the miners' Labor Market becomes glutted the surplus miners will seek other fields. They will go to the cities and the farms; thus the supply of miners will come down, the demand will go up. Things will right themselves so."

The Politician and Labor Fakir Hatchford, who has climbed into his \$3,000 position on the quivering backs of his tortured class, and whose duty it was to educate them, but who received his job for keeping them ignorant. He, Hatchford, Dolan, Warner, McKay, Lewis, Mitchell, or any other fakir, when he makes that answer—the only answer upholders of the capitalist system can make, mark you, Brother Miner—you can reply to him in the words of Horace Greeley: "You lie, you villain, you lie, and you know it."

To prove they lie point out the printers in the cities made tramps of by the Mergenthaler Linotype setting machine. Point to New England and the South, where the textile operatives are driven out of their jobs by the Roney and the Northrop loom. Then gaze on the wind-swept prairies of the West and listen to the tramp, tramp, tramp of the thousands of tramps made so by the introduction of the Marsh harvester and self-reaper and binder on the great bonanza farms; and so on with a thousand other labor displacing machines. Tell these labor skates next that the day is lost when a new trust is not born, a trust that shuts down factories, fires workers, drummers, and advertising agents, thus glutting the labor market still more. Then point out that into every factory is being introduced the specialization or subdivision of labor that displaces thousands more. Then tell them the conclusion to be drawn from this state of affairs is, THAT INSTEAD OF THE MINERS GOING TO THE CITIES AND FARMS, THE CITY AND FARM WORKERS ARE GOING TO THE MINES. Then ask yourself what this means. It means that when you go to the mine at the break of day and find no cars and no work, and are thus compelled to tramp home disconsolate to a hotel with an empty cupboard, and crying children, that such will be your lot in the future. It means that strikes with all their

horrors, hunger, Hazleton camps, company houses, pluck-me-stores, unfair screens, etc., etc., are wedged into your daily life to stay. It means more tears for your wife, more rags for your children, more crusts and less meat. All this while that condition of the labor market lasts, as it is bound to last so long as the capitalist system continues.

Vote it down and out. Throw down your Fakirs that stand for it!

Turn the lamp anew, you poor wage slave of the mine, and, if your eyes are not blinded through the stygian darkness of pure and simplemindedness, what do you read in the great white light of Socialism? This: That man once lived in his forest cave, in a state of cannibalism, and killed his brother with a stone or club. That he marched from the cave to the patriarchal family, thence to the Grecian and Roman Republics, thence to Feudalism, thence to capitalism, that each of these stages of society carried within it germs of its own destruction, and hence had to pass away to be succeeded by another. That capitalism is ready to pass away, but will not go until the class that will alone benefit by its death shall arise in all the grandeur of its strength and bid it go. That class is our class. Our kindly, guileless, long suffering class, that has lived in all these different societies and will continue to live, because it is the foundation of society, inasmuch as it is the producer of ALL WEALTH, and as such has that fact forever stamped upon its brow.

Understanding this, you empoverished miner, understand this greater truth: All classes who secured freedom and power, those classes themselves had to strike the blow; had themselves to capture the public power, and then, and not until then, could they march brightly through the laurel groves of success with the songs of victory ringing in their ears, with the fruits of that victory in their hands, radiant with the promises of the golden future. So it was when under Cromwell the growing capitalist class seized the political power in the Commons; so, again, was it with the capitalist class in France when they captured the political power in the National Assembly; so, again, in America when our own revolutionary forefathers captured the political power in the Continental Congress. Even so will it be in our own time, when, realizing that just as one pound of tough meat, sanded sugar, or a pair of proper shoes could not be sold in the pluck-me-store were it not for the political power that the coal mine operator possesses; realizing that not one rifle could be loaded and fired at Pana, Virdeu or Hazleton were it not that the workers stupidly put the capitalist behind the guns with themselves and their little ones in front of the muzzles of the guns; realizing, in short, that just as the capitalist's economic power and his political power are inseparable, so is the miner's economic power and his political power inseparable. Trim that lamp again, Mr. Miner, and read this message until its burns you heart and brain: WAGES AND POLITICS ARE INSEPARABLE QUESTIONS.

This great truth once grasped, you will see that you must organize with politics in your union, but that politics must be the politics of YOUR class. It must be the politics that will send your representatives to Harrisburg in Pennsylvania, Springfield in Illinois, Columbus in Ohio, and above all to Washington, to demand that, inasmuch as the conditions of the labor market keeps you bound to your coal mining village or patch as firmly as was the gally slave to the oar, with the company store tied around your neck, to lead lives of misery without one ray of hope while the system of capitalism lasts; that, inasmuch as nothing short of the overthrow of capitalism will right this condition of affairs, therefore you demand the unconditional surrender of the capitalist class and the substitution of the Socialist Commonwealth, in which the miners shall receive the full value of all they produce instead of one-fifth as at present; a Common-

(Continued on page 3.)

TURNING SCREWS.

20 out of 32 Thousand Cigar Firms to be Squeezed out.

Capitalist Legislation Takes a Hand in the Evolution of Capitalist Concentration—An Internal Revenue Decision that Counteracts the Simplicity of the Tools Used in the Production of Cigars, and thus Moves Down the Small Fellows, Clearing the Field for Capital.

BOSTON, Mass., Feb. 17.—The following decision has been rendered by the Commissioner of Internal Revenue:

In view of section 69 of the act of August 28, 1894, and section 3244, Revised Statutes, as amended, dealers in leaf tobacco will not be permitted to sell leaf tobacco in quantities less than a hoghead, case or bale. Neither will they be permitted to sell directly to consumers, and they will be required to confine their sales to three classes of purchasers, namely: 1st, to other duly registered dealers in leaf tobacco; 2nd, to duly registered manufacturers of tobacco, snuff or cigars; 3rd, to persons who purchase leaf tobacco in packages for export. Dealers in leaf tobacco selling to other persons, or in any manner than as above, will be regarded as manufacturers of tobacco, and all tobacco so sold by them will be regarded as manufactured tobacco.

This action which applies to the Revenue law of 1894 compels leaf tobacco dealers who formerly sold goods to small manufacturers in lots of one, ten or one hundred pounds, to sell their goods in original packages. Dealers desiring to sell goods in small quantities will have to qualify as manufacturers and their sales will be regarded in the light of manufactured tobacco, they will have to pay a tax of 12 cents a pound which in some cases is as much as the tobacco has been sold for.

A cigarmaker who, if he had a few private customers, when out of employment could start up in business for himself with ten dollars will now have to purchase a bale of Sumatra wrappers, which cost \$700; a bale of Havana fillers, \$150; a case of binders, \$75; which makes a total of \$925 and does not include tools, boxes, revenue stamps, etc. It is safe to say that if this decision is enforced 20,000 out of the 32,000 cigar manufacturers in the United States will be forced to the wall. It is stated on good authority that this law will affect 100,000 persons employed in the cigar and tobacco industry.

In the past it has been difficult to centralize the cigar industry in the hands of a few persons owing to the simplicity of the tools used in the production of cigars and the ability to buy tobacco in small quantities. But with the aid of the governmental forces which the tobacco capitalists, as well as all others know how to utilize, as fore-shadowed by this Internal Revenue decision, we may in the near future hear of the formation of a gigantic cigar trust in the United States.

A consideration of the action of the economic law, as it regards capitalists in the foregoing, and the action of economic law in its effect upon wage workers in the cigar industry, brings out some interesting if not startling disclosures.

The production of cigars during 1897 and 1898 was as follows:

1898	4,664,711,602
1897	4,178,581,880
Increase	401,129,722

This is an increase of about one-half billion over 1897. The superficial observer would say looking at this figures that "the cigarmakers of the United States had passed a prosperous year"; whereas they have failed to maintain their scale of wages at some points and at others the enforcement of new and exacting shop rules prove a decline in both wages and conditions. The Cigar Makers' International Union have lost strikes in Carl Uppman's, the LARGEST UNION CIGAR FACTORY IN THE UNITED STATES; Ottensburg Bros. & Co.; Bondy & Lederer, all of New York City; at Canton, Ill., and other points throughout the country during the past year.

The 1,500 cigarmakers of Boston who are organized in Union No. 97 have been compelled to submit to the rules enforcement of which, while they still maintain their scale of \$15 per thousand, has resulted in a reduction of from \$1 to \$3 per week. An increase in the production of any or all commodities does not necessarily mean an increase in the wealth of the working class become possessed of; but contrariwise at this stage of industrial development. Labor power is a merchandise and is sold subject to the law of wages and merchandise, which declares that the working class shall receive enough of the value they produce to buy the necessities of life; as with merchandise, so with labor power, it is sold at its cost of reproduction.

The more the workers work the more they increase the wealth of those they work for; the more they increase their employers' wealth, the more they increase the capital their employer controls: It is not more work that increases the workers' wealth; more work leads to no work; and no work or more work decreases the workers' share of wealth and increases poverty, degradation and crime, this is the law of capitalism.

DAVID GOLDSTEIN, Member of Cigarmakers' Union No. 97.

H. Weisling lectures this evening, Feb. 26, on "Charity," at 149th street and Third avenue (34th and 85th A. D.), this city.

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SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888 (Presidential) 2,068
In 1890 13,331
In 1892 (Presidential) 21,157
In 1894 33,133
In 1896 (Presidential) 36,564
In 1898 82,204

Administration after administration and party after party have perished in their desperate attempts to fit the youthful colonial garments, made by our Fathers after a by-gone fashion, over the expanded limits and generous outline of a matured nation. There are patches here and there; the are grievous rents and holes here and there; there are ludicrous and painful exposures of growing limbs everywhere; and the party in power and the party out of power can do nothing but mend and patch, and revamp and cleanse and scour, and occasionally, in the wilderness of despair, suggest even the cutting off the rebellious limbs that persist in growing beyond the swaddling clothes of infancy.

BRET HARTE.

PICTORIAL.

Proceedings have been set on foot by the Park Department of this city against the Manhattan or Gould Elevated railroads. It matters not to us what the motives may be; the only question is, Are the charges true? That they are true every resident of New York knows to his sorrow. Nor does it matter to us that the "reform" activity, Tammany is just now ablaze with against a nuisance, is sure to abate; there are too many Manhattan stock-holders in Tammany itself; more over the capitalist interests that animate the "Tammany Syndicate" will not, can not afford to, hostile the "Gould Syndicate" beyond a certain limited point. What is of importance is to take the picture of the situation.

It is barely two weeks ago that the Federal Senate solemnly placed at the feet of Helen Gould "the thanks of the Nation" for her "generosity" during the war. Now there comes official information as to the quarry from which the generosity was dug. The report of the Park Department attests to the fact that, without paying a cent to the city for the public property used by the Manhattan Company, one of the city parks is being blighted by the company, and not only that, but the Health Department adds that "the droppings of water and oil from the structure are a nuisance and annoyance to pedestrians; and the pools which gather beneath the tracks are a menace to the public health."

We have here an all around pictorial reproduction of present society. The Manhattan park symbolizes the capitalist system. Capitalism gathers everywhere beneath it pools that are a menace to society, and out of the exhalations of such pools the glistening gold is produced that the Social Nuisance of to-day indulges in "generosity" and buys the "Nation's" thanks with.

Tear it down!

"SELF-HELP."

There was recently a certain Congressional investigation held, a portion of whose report should be clipped by the Socialist agitator, and carried about with him. He will find frequent occasion to use it when, at meetings, some innocent, or otherwise, upholder of capitalism objects to Socialism on the ground of its destroying individuality, whereas Capitalism "fosters self-help" and "spurns paternalism." The passage in question explains the nature of capitalist self-help:—It means helping oneself to other people's property by the aid of the capitalist Government.

Two, seemingly independent Nicaragua Canal Companies had suddenly sprung up and demanded Government aid, the one was called the Maritime Canal Company, the other the Construction Company. The one was a tender to the other. As one concern, the people at the bottom and back of both could not have as a good a chance in their buccaneer game; accordingly, they gave themselves two distinct names;—and proceeded to do "business." At the investigation, one Hitchcock, the President of the "Maritime Canal Company," being on the rack, certain valuable facts were elicited. Here is the passage verbatim:

Mr. Hitchcock—The fourth article of my last report shows that since the reorganization 10,148 shares have been subscribed for at par, amounting to \$1,014,800, of which \$250,000 has been paid into the treasury.

Mr. Mann—On what basis was that done? What was the stock valued at; what were the bonds valued at in their transfer to the construction company?

Mr. Hitchcock—They were to receive \$100,000.00 of bonds and \$70,000.00 of stock for the completion of the work;—practically \$220,000.00 of securities—and, we would say, in round numbers, it would cost \$100,000.00 to build the canal, and \$220,000.00 in stock and bonds might bring more than that.

Mr. Mann—That is, you were giving them stock and bonds than double in amount of the cost in cash?

Mr. Hitchcock—Yes, sir; I think so.

Mr. Mann—What would the bonds and stock sell for; would they sell for fifty cents on a dollar?

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POLITICAL and ECONOMIC.

It is evident that on the Pacific Slope, as well as here on the Atlantic, Socialists can not too often reassert their position. One of the points on which Socialism is least understood is that of the "trust." So little is it understood that nothing is more common than to have a man believe that the "reformers" surely want Socialism because they want "to smash the trust"; and there is in this matter the further danger that a lot of scheming capitalists, themselves bursting with trust stock, utilize the popular error about "trusts," declare themselves "against the trust," pose as "Socialists" and thus seek to sail into public office. In view of this the explanation given by the San Francisco, Cal., "Class Struggle" is opportune everywhere:

Socialists do not object to the Trust, but they decidedly object to the present ownership of the Trust. They demand that that shall comprise ALL of the means of production and distribution, to be owned by ALL the people, and operated for the benefit of the people, instead of for the enrichment and aggrandizement of the FEW. Is that clear?

After many years of experimenting, the Australian comrades have struck the right road. This welcome fact appears from a New Year Card issued by the Newcastle and Sydney, Australia, "People and Collectivist," from which the below are the closing passages:

Our work during the coming year promises to be heavy, and every one in sympathy with our aims and aspirations, and willing to assist us on the lines we have laid down, will find work to do. Our movement must be built up on clear-cut class lines. There can be no compromise between the few and the many; there are only two classes in every community—they who work, and they who rob the workers; and so long as a minority State will not welcome the land, mines, factories, shops, money, etc., they own the whole of the wealth. Do you believe in a class-conscious recognition of these facts? If so, join the A. S. L. at Sydney, Newcastle, Leichhardt, or Newcastle. We don't want the Parliamentary aspirant, merely, for there is nothing more vile than he; we want the superior middle class, who is only prepared to go a "moderate distance," and will only come in just to give "tone" to the movement. That class is corrupt; but everyone who believes in standing on the foundation we have laid down, and is prepared to fight with grit and determination to build up the Socialist party, will be welcomed from whatever section of society he or she may come. We don't ask the ignorant and brutalized among the workers to come in, until they can be persuaded to change their brains, and understand the class-conscious ideas. The workers, as a whole, will not support Socialism very enthusiastically just now. Why? Because they don't understand it. It has never been explained to them before. N. S. W. as at present—consequently all who take the work up must expect a long period of drudgery; but we will get over that. Let us first, though, make sure of ourselves.

The Tacoma, Wash., "Spirit of '76" recommends:

Free text books and employment for all idle citizens would be a good municipal platform for not alone the Socialist Labor party of Tacoma, but all over the land as well.

The "Spirit of '76" evidently does not know two things:

1st. That the Socialist Labor party has, by order of its last National Convention, drafted and adopted a municipal programme, and that programme or platform is a good deal more comprehensive than the two-planked one therein proposed;

2nd. That, plauted upon extensive experience, the Socialist Labor party knows that a complete platform, dealing with basic principles, is the only sort of platform around and upon which the revolutionary army can build and encamp, and from which it can make any progress.

"El Nueva Ideal" (The New Ideal), published in Havana, Cuba, is a new visitor that has turned up among our exchanges. In spots it sounds well; on the whole, though, it leaves one in the dark as to whether it enters the field equipped with the ripe experience of the past. There is nothing to indicate whether it has learned the lesson that the "propaganda of deed" is but a "propaganda of self-destruction"; nothing to indicate whether it has fathomed or not the evolution of the class-unconscious union; nothing to show whether it has a proper apprehension of the educational and revolutionary force there is in the ballot. We shall watch it with great interest, and see whether Puerto Rico is to go ahead of Cuba in the Labor Movement.

The fakirism of the leaders of the Mariboro shoe strikers commences to be a stench in the public nostrils. First, these fakirs utilize the indignation of the strikers by encouraging them to support the Democratic municipal candidates, and thus manage to secure (for what consideration?) the election of a capitalist Mayor; and now it turns out that these fakirs have agreed to a remarkable procedure against the strikers. Upon this latest development the below "agreement" sheds much light, it being the ground on which a temporary injunction was issued against the strikers:

Commonwealth of Massachusetts.
In Equity.
Rice & Hutchins, Incorporated, vs. Murray et al.
John A. O'Connell vs. Same;
S. H. Howe Shoe Company vs. Same; John A. Frye vs. J. H. Murray et al.
Agreement of Parties.—It is agreed by the parties to the above entitled suits that until the further order of the court a temporary injunction may issue, restraining the defendants and each of them, their agents or attorneys, from interfering with the business of the plaintiffs or their employees. The defendants, however, disclaim any act of violence or intimidation in the past, or any intention to commit such acts in the future, and enter into this injunction in order to try the issues presented by the bill of complaint fully at a hearing on the merits at some future time, and this agreement is not to be considered or treated as any admission of illegal conduct on the part of the defendants, or any of them.

(Signed)
FRANCIS P. CURRIAN,
Attorney for respondents.
HURLBURT, JONES & CARO,
Attorneys for plaintiffs.
Let an injunction issue, in accordance with the above agreement.
(Signed) JOHN HAMMOND,
Judge Supreme Court.

NEW LABOR DISPLACER.

A mechanical process for feeding and threading the shuttle of a cotton loom has been invented in Atlanta, Ga. It is an invention that will take the place of all other self-feeding and threading shuttles that have, recently been put on the market in the North.

The inventor of the new shuttle is J. C. Bryan, a mechanic of humble means, who over a year ago, after explaining his plans to the head of the Exposition Cotton Mills, was given one of the looms in the factory on which to make his private experiments.

Although a large number of accidents happened to the invention during the past year the inventor kept steadily to the work with a conviction that his plan was a thoroughly feasible one, and as a result of his hard labor the new self-feeding and self-threading shuttle stands completed and ready for public inspection.

The results accomplished from experiments at the Exposition Mills have been striven for by mechanics for past years all over the country. Presidents of mills have encouraged prominent inventors to undertake the work of improving the old shuttle so that it could be made self-threading.

It has long been realized that if such a machine could be put on the market it would be a labor-saving step and at the same time increase the weekly capacity of the looms to a great extent. The loss occasioned by the constant stopping and threading of the shuttles, which if obviated by the new mechanical process, would, it is estimated, amount to one length more of cloth on every loom in a week and in a mill of 15,000 looms the extra capacity of 15,000 lengths of cloth would increase the business to a large extent in the year.

In addition to the increased capacity of the looms with the new shuttles, the simple invention means that LESS LABOR WILL BE REQUIRED IN ATTENDING THE LOOMS. To every one hundred looms in the larger factories of the country, twenty men are required to feed and thread the shuttles and attend to other parts of the loom. With the necessity for threading the shuttles gone, five men can attend one hundred looms, or one-fourth the amount of labor required at present.

What this means to the cotton industry of the country cannot be estimated until the new shuttle is put generally in active operation, but it is certain to affect the production of the white staple from the time it leaves the field in the bag of the cotton picker until it comes out of the dyeing house after having been made into cloth.

As the shuttle flies backward and forward, the bobbin in the shuttle becomes quickly exhausted and it is necessary to stop the loom in order to put in another bobbin, thus losing considerable time and requiring the expenditure of labor that might otherwise be done away with. By a mechanical process the invention, which is said to be different from other inventions on this line, puts in a new bobbin with thread while the loom is in full operation. The motion of the loom is a continuous one.

The great advantage of the self-threading shuttle is that it can be adapted to any loom in use, whereas other inventions of the kind have been made specifically for particular kind of loom and cannot be used on all.

The novel and economic invention is now on exhibition at the Exposition Cotton Mills, and it is understood that already one large mill has ordered, or is preparing to order in the next few days 1,500 self-feeding shuttles of the kind to be put on the market.

The inventor of the new shuttle is a man of very moderate means and has recently been connected with the Exposition Cotton Mills. The only other member of his family is his wife, also an employe of the factory, who has rendered her husband material assistance in perfecting the shuttle to which he has devoted his entire attention.

The attention of the Manufacturers' Association has just been directed to the improvement and it is probable that in the near future the association will give the invention a most careful inspection.

That much for the merits of the invention. Now for the results that will come from it.

First as to the inventor himself. His chances of profiting by his genius are almost nil. It is the style now-a-days to boldly and boldly steal inventors' inventions. As a rule, and it is so in this case, inventors are poor. Without capital they can not put their inventions on the market; without capital they can not fight the robber capitalist who infringes their patent. Only quite recently a Pennsylvania Appellate Court, it was in the case of Dempsey, decided that it would be unjust to decide in favor of Dempsey, a discoverer of some coloring process, because then his employers would be at his mercy, compelled to pay him whatever wages he demanded; upon which the employers, who had stolen Dempsey's books containing his secret notes, were allowed to retain possession. The inventor of the new shuttle has a dark future before him.

Next as to the working class. What songs of joy would not rend the air if a shuttle is invented whereby one-fourth the labor, now required, could be dispensed with; where, accordingly, the workers' time of toil could be lessened by that much! Yet do such cries of joy are heard or will be heard. On the contrary. The worker's time will not be reduced; the increased productivity of his work will not fall to him. He will continue in misery; the displaced labor will press upon him and still more drag him down; only the idle capitalist will profit. Thus both workers and inventor are only prospective sufferers.

Such is the way of things under a social system in which the tool of production is the property of private hands; such is the state of things that the Socialist Labor party has set its face to destroy.

And it will.



Uncle Sam & Brother Jonathan.

Uncle Sam—You seem to be in a great hurry; where are you going?

Brother Jonathan—I am going to my union. I am a little behind. I want to square up and withdraw.

U. S.—Withdraw?

B. J.—Yes. What's the use in being in a union? Every sensible man should get out and save his money.

U. S.—Are you gone daft?

B. J.—No. I'm grown wise. I have noticed that the strike and the boycott are played out. They were good enough when the bosses were cock-roach bosses. But just as soon as the bosses combine into larger concerns we might as well try to spit at the moon as to beat them with the boycott or the strike. They'll wallop us every time. And that's what's happening now. I haven't money to throw away.

U. S.—And for that reason you would have the unions disbanded?

B. J.—For that and for other reasons.

U. S.—Which other?

B. J.—As the union cannot win any more with its old and only weapons, it falls into the hands of fakirs who trade upon it, and sell it out, and use it as a footstool to step on and advertise themselves to the politicians.

U. S.—Have you any other reasons?

B. J.—No. Are they not enough?

U. S.—Decidedly not.

B. J.—What sense is there in paying dues to keep a fakir in a job?

U. S.—In the first place, as far as the fakir question is concerned, the usefulness or uselessness of unionism cannot be settled by it. The fakir is not a fixture. He can be snuffed out. And if the worse were to come to the worse, if the fakir has entrenched himself in such a way, as the so-called officers of the now extinct K. of L. have done, that they can use your own dues to beat you down and flourish in fakirism, you can pull out the bulk of the intelligent men, leave the fakirs to starve high and dry, and start a good, bona fide union. I admit that a thing controlled by fakirs will do labor no good, and will even hurt the workers; and that, even if such a thing dignifies itself with the name of "union," it should be smashed.

B. J.—And suppose you do, and build up a bona fide honest organization, what good will that do? The boycott and the strike are played out.

U. S.—Suppose they are; let's leave that part of the question aside for the present. Do you imagine that the organization of labor by trades has no other good purpose?

B. J.—None that I can see.

U. S.—You have heard of a man called Bismarck, haven't you?

B. J.—Yes.

U. S.—Pretty powerful man he was at one time, eh?

B. J.—Yes.

U. S.—Well, powerful though he was, and willing and anxious to boot, to squelch the Socialist movement in Germany and hang every Socialist delegate, did he do that?

B. J.—What, hang them?

U. S.—Yes.

B. J.—No, he didn't.

U. S.—Why, being so powerful?

B. J.—Guess he didn't dare to.

U. S.—That's just it. Even the most powerful and the most willing to do a wrong fell to-day curbed by public opinion. Now, then, vicious though a boss may be, and anxious to do a wrong to one of his workmen, he will feel curbed in his desire if he knows that his men are organized, that they will all resent his action, strike and thereby make public his act. Is that clear?

B. J.—Yes.

U. S.—Thus organization can do some good as a shield, provided, of course, it is in the hands of honest and intelligent leaders, not fakirs.

B. J.—Well, would that alone be worth the dues we pay and the time we spend on the union?

U. S.—I think so. But that is not all. The union answers other good purposes. Are you so sure that the working class won't have to fight physically for their rights? Are you quite sure that the capitalists, ousted at the ballot box by the workers, will not do what the slave holders of the South did—throw to the wind their pretences of being law-abiding, and take up arms to thwart the fiat of the suffrage?

B. J.—Well, no; I'm not quite sure they won't.

U. S.—The union of the workers, always on the alert to fight the boss at opportune moments, and honestly and intelligently conducted, preserves among the workers the proper spirit of resistance. Such unions may some day need the discipline they acquired. They will be found to be brigades ready at hand for final action and final disposal of capitalism.

B. J.—That's quite so. But anyhow, strikes and boycotts must be abandoned.

U. S.—Yes and no. Upon this subject let me read a passage from the proclamation issued by the New Trade Unionist national organization of the country—the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance. (Producing the paper and reading.) It is this:

"The Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance of the United States and Canada stands upon the basis of facts, and therefore promises nothing impossible. It knows that the final victory it promises is possible, ay, is assured. IN THE MEANTIME, WHILE THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM LASTS, WE AIM TO USE THE ECONOMIC ORGANIZATIONS, WHICH WE HAVE ESTABLISHED AND WILL EXTEND, TO WRING SUCH TEMPORARY ADVANTAGES FROM THE CAPITALISTS AS CONDI-

TIONS WILL ALLOW. WE DO NOT SAY THAT THE WORKERS MUST NOT STRIKE OR BOYCOTT. WE KNOW THAT OFTEN THE BRUTALITY OF CAPITAL DRIVES THE WORKERS TO DESPAIR. WE KNOW THAT AT SOME TIMES THE CAPITALISTS ARE SO SITUATED AS TO AFFORD A CHANCE FOR AN EFFECTIVE CONTEST. On all such occasions we will fight with more vigor and persistence than the old-style organizations ever could, because our ranks are held together by the true spirit of solidarity which grows out of the consciousness of the common interest of all wage workers in the overthrow of capitalist class rule. Whether these unavoidable contests are carried to victorious results, depends largely upon economic conditions which we cannot control; we need not promise. Defeats will not disconcert us, because these contests will be considered by us merely as skirmishes preceding the great battle of emancipation. But this we can safely promise, that our warfare will not only be more effective than that of the old-style labor organization, but it is the only industrial policy that can bring results. While the old-style organizations, disgraced by corrupt leadership, weakened by ignorance of the right and might of the working class, demoralized by every failure in their blind conflicts with capital, become objects of contempt for friend and foe alike, the determined phalanxes of our New Trade Unionism, marching boldly upon the citadel of capitalism (its control of the industrial and political machinery), will earn the confidence of the workers and inspire the capitalists with fear, if not with respect. While the old-style organizations, weighed down by the hopelessness of their course, cannot be kept in fighting trim for even those opportunities that business conditions sometimes offer for successful economic struggles against capital our army, trained for a fight to the finish, and drawing from our growing success at the ballot box ever new assurance of final triumph, will be ever ready for timely aggression and necessary defense. While the old-style organization degraded to the function of voting cattle for the capitalist parties, gain nothing but to be kicked with injunctions, clubs and bayonets into greater helplessness, our New Trade Unionism will derive from every advance made in the political class struggle material assistance for the economic efforts, following the example of our fellow workers in France, whose Socialist representatives vote large contributions in the municipal councils, plead the cause of labor in the halls of parliament and support it with their prestige of the field of battle whenever a strike occurs."

B. J.—Guess I'll stay in.

U. S.—By all means. You were judging the union by its impotence when in the hands of fakirs. There all effort is pure waste. In the properly conducted union, the union that moves hand in hand with the S. L. P., even the weapons of the strike and boycott do serve some good purpose; and such a union is a valuable weapon of offence and defence to the workers. Bring your fellow craftsmen into it. Get others to do likewise. The Socialist fights both along the economic and the political line.

Rejoice!

(Written for THE PEOPLE by George Bortroya, Lawrence, Mass.)

Rejoice, ye Socialists, rejoice,
Lift up your hearts, lift up your voice;
Success is near, the cause we attend,
And conflict still in triumph ends.
In vain our system's num'rous foes
Its clashing steel, the course expose;
As shades from light they shrink away
And added converts bless the ray.
Rejoice, our principles are proved;
Our truth's firm rock they stand unmoved;
Our cause from contest gathers force,
And opposition speeds its course.

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BOSTON, MASS.

THE PEOPLE is for sale at the following places:
Geo. G. Leavitt, 122 Harrison Avenue.
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ARISTOCRACY & EVOLUTION.

Read the Socialist banner down,
Let sections all disband,
For Mallock writes to prove,
That Socialism cannot stand.

Fresh from the pen of W. H. Mallock, and hot from the press of the Macmillan Company, New York and London, come four books in one volume, 386 pages, bearing the above title, "Aristocracy and Evolution." It is a work showing every evidence of intellectual prostitution, and intended to add to the confusion existing in many minds concerning the doctrine of scientific Socialism. The arguments advanced help to prove very conclusively the truth of the statements made by Comrade Arthur Keep in that very timely article "English Aristocracy" that appeared in THE PEOPLE, Feb. 12, 1899.

Mallock calls to his aid in his labored attempt to justify the continuance of the capitalist class Herbert Spencer, Froese, Darwin, Benjamin Kidd, J. S. Mill, John Morley, Wm. Morris, Adam Smith, Wm. J. Bryan, and, most remarkable, he refers to Karl Marx no less than eight times in as many different places throughout the work, but he fails to quote a single word from Marx. His quotations from the others are frequent and copious, he misinterprets Marx, and the conclusions he arrives at outside of Marx and those mentioned, are drawn from the Socialistic salmagundi so graphically described by Comrade Keep in the article referred to.

England is the only country where Mallock can find the Socialist movement degraded and misrepresented by every possible species of things calling themselves Socialists. "The Fabian essays," Sydney Webb et al., furnish Mallock admirable material to construct his system of straw Socialism. I submit this and a few quotations from Mallock's latest, to show our comrades, THE PEOPLE can afford the space, to poison the public mind against Socialism through its unscrupulous and subsidized writers, whose works find easy access to all public and private libraries; capitalist trustees of libraries stretch forth their eager hands for works like this and use public money to buy them; Socialist books, free from the vagaries and contradictions of utopian Socialism, can hardly find a place in the libraries even when presented to them.

Now to my quotations from Mallock: "Advocates of Socialism often distinctly say, and the principles of Socialism beyond all doubt require, that the family as now existing, shall be practically broken up; and that whilst the union of the parents is made terminable with an ease unapproached at present, the multiplication of children shall be regulated by State authority, and that the children themselves shall be reared by the State rather than by the parents."—Page 232.

Page 266:—"The Socialist aim, in fact at securing the best industrial masters and treating them like the worst servants. This, as social reformers, is their fundamental peculiarity. For whilst they propose to secure an equal distribution of products, they implicitly admit that the producers may be divided into three classes—the men of exceptional ability who produce an exceptional amount of wealth; the mass of average men who produce a normal amount; and the idle, the refractory, and the worthless, who produce less than the normal amount; and they propose accordingly to apportion the products as follows. To the average man they would give twice as much as he produces; to the idle and the worthless man they would give a hundred times as much as he produces; and to the great man, on whose talents the fortunes of all the others depend, they would give from a hundredth to a thousandth part of what he produces."

Page 342:—"The avowed object of Socialism is a redistribution of wealth; but the most striking characteristic of all the Socialistic leaders has been an incapacity to produce the thing which they are so anxious to distribute."

Page 344:—"It is men like these—the men with ill-balanced or abortive talents—the men with strong wills and defective intellects, the men whose ambition is developed by the smallest educational stimulus, but who have no money proportionate to it which may education develop—it is men like these who invest with its principal danger the equalization of educational opportunity; and if education, as so many Conservatives say, really does nothing but promote popular discontent amongst the great masses of the population less from the manner in which it affects the average man directly, than from the manner in which it affects men who are inefficiently exceptional, and who not having the gifts that would enable them to rise in any society, endeavor to persuade the masses that society, as at present constituted, is an organized conspiracy of the few to keep everybody else down."

Comrades, the fight grows hot, build up the Sections; study every phase of the movement; arm yourselves with the party pamphlets; let every member of a Section consider it his imperative duty to circulate them and THE PEOPLE; do not wantonly destroy or hate our literature; put it into the hands and the homes of every voter and push on the conquest of full political power. Such an evidence of intelligence acting as a harlot, should be an opener where eyes were not open before.

ERIN.

To the Sections of the S. L. P.
The first of the supplements to the Socialist Almanac—No. 2, Vol. I, "People Library"—is now out and ready for shipment. It is a handsome, 24-page pamphlet, the contents of which are:
I. Territorial Expansion, by L. Sanial.
II. Growth of Socialism in America (S. L. P. Section returns).
Number 3 is subject now foremost in the minds of the people and will receive attention if Sections see to it that the book is brought prominently before the public; Number II, is of great interest to all who have an interest in the development of the Socialist movement in this country.
The retail price of this number is only 5 cents, which makes possible a very extensive sale.

Address orders to the N. Y. Labor News Company, 167 East 23rd street, New York, or to the National Secretary, HENRY KUHN, 184 William street, N. Y.

The receipt of a sample copy of this paper is an invitation to subscribe.

WHAT TO DO?

(Continued from page 1.)

that it crawls back. No sooner do men get together and "turn the rascals out" than the rascals crawl back.

Everyone, even that great benefactor of the human race, Richard Croker, admits that something "must be done." Now I can see nothing left but to vote the Socialist Labor party ticket. I have so often expatiated on the merits of this party that it seems almost unnecessary to add to what I have already had occasion to say, but there are two or three points worthy of more serious consideration. Some of you will probably recall the memorable words uttered by John after he had been hurled forth from the whale's belly. "What," said he, shaking his fist at the great fish, "what, you cannot keep a good man down." And so it is with the Socialist Labor party, you cannot keep it down. Moreover, this story illustrates another truth and that is the result which awaits any other party which tries to swallow this lusty infant.

Again, there is the story of the little boy who was weak at his arithmetic. His teacher one day, thinking to interest him, asked: "Johnnie, if you could take your choice which animal would you prefer to be?" "A rabbit," readily answered Johnnie. "A rabbit," queried the teacher, "and why?" "Because papa says they multiply so quickly." Men are like sheep, and nothing makes them so anxious to join a party as when they see it increasing in numbers. Very probably men, as the Socialist Labor party is growing so rapidly, there are many who like little Johnnie would wish to become scientific Socialists because "they multiply so quickly."

Of the necessity of voting the Socialist Labor party ticket, just one word in conclusion. This has been very clearly and effectively set forth by one of our modern poets. Says he in one of those poetic outbursts which reaches out to the hearts of 60,000,000 American citizens:

Lives of poor men oft remind us
Workingmen don't stand a chance,
The more we work, there grow we
Bigger patches on our pants.

On our pants once new and glossy,
Now are stripes of different hue,
All because Mark Hanna reigneth
And won't pay us what's our due.

So let us all be up and voting,
Cast your vote, however small,
Or when prosperity returneth
We shall have no pants at all.

COAL MINERS.

(Continued from page 1.)

wealth in which he who works can live like a civilized man, and he who won't work can rot under ground. Politics with these demands you must have in your union.

Let not the bogey of politics scare you; your unions are slimy with politics to-day; but it is capitalist politics. Every begging committee you send to the Legislature of your various States is politics; and so is every move of your leaders, witness the last convention of the United Mine Workers' Union in Pittsburgh, where Hanna, through his man Hatchford, absolutely dominated what should have been your convention. (For proof of that statement read THE PEOPLE of Jan. 29, in which is given a four-column report of that convention.)

McBride, a wealthy saloon-keeper of Columbus, Ohio, why is he in your union, seeing that he will never see the inside of a shaft or a drift again, if it is not for the prestige and influence that your union can give him as he does his Judas work in capitalist politics?

John McBride, who gave \$600 to Mark Wild, of Columbus, O., as a PRESENT; where did he get it? Wild claims it was part of a \$5,000 bribe that McBride received, while he was playing Democratic politics and "leading labor" at the same time. Wild, who received that bribe, will swear to the truth of that to-day.

Lewis, of Ohio (W. T.), a lawyer, why is he in your union? Does he intend to give up his kid-gloved position of lawyer and with pick on shoulder and lamp in cap march in to the mine? NO! IT IS POLITICS, Republican politics. He belongs to the Forker, Anti-Hanna Republican machine.

Hatchford, \$3,000 a year office-holder, appointed by Hanna—more politics.

Dolan—silver mine baron Democratic politics.

Fahy—Harrisburg lobbyist.

Warner—brother-keeping politics.

Mitchell—Republican politics; and so on and so on all down the line. Every one of the miners' leaders striving desperately to keep the politics of the working class out of the unions of the working class, and then injecting capitalist politics into them that has the effect of putting one set of miners at the others' throat on election day, thus causing that ballot that in the securing of which rivers of blood has been shed, that ballot that properly applied could free the working class, to be not worth the paper on which it has been written.

Aye more, they, the political Labor Fakirs, cause the workers to positively injure themselves by using that ballot to put into power the very class that they organize to fight, and that then, possessing the political power, shoots them down at Pana, Virden, and Hazleton.

To close on this point. As you must have politics in your union see that politics is the politics of your own class. To get this, throw down your Fakir traitors; join the S. T. & L. A.

The 5th condition is mainly covered by the above. When we say that "No politics in the union was all right 100 years ago," we mean that the workers in England had no vote 100 years ago, therefore "No politics" was all very well because it was inevitable; but, to-day, with the ballot in the worker's hand, and he in the majority, the man who says "No politics" and then proceeds to play capitalist politics himself, that fellow is a traitor and should be treated as such.

The 3rd and 4th condition we can group together. It is a truth capable of official verification that every law passed in the interest of the coal miner has been declared unconstitutional. Witness: A bill was passed demanding that the company store be abolished; the capitalist operators, whom the miners had stupidly put into the ermine of the Judges on the bench,

whispered said Judge's ears; result: "unconstitutional" was written across the face of the law, and the miners continued to be fleeced in the same old way.

Same with the Run of Mines bill. Ditto the Checkweighman bill. Ditto the Forthrightly Pay bill.

Ditto every other bill passed in the interests of the miner; and so it will continue until the miners learn this truth that sticks out all over the coal mining situation, viz., that ALL LEGISLATION IS CLASS LEGISLATION. Hence, when the miners want legislation in the interests of their class, they must get it as a class, through a platform of their class, with representatives of their class. In no other way can they secure that needed legislation.

But it may be said: Is it not better to at least try and get something NOW through the old parties? NO, for two reasons: First, the capitalist class will give up none of its privileges except through fear or power of numbers, and they surely can have no fear of an organization that has the power of numbers and of right, and will still be mean spirited enough TO BEG for what it COULD DEMAND OR TAKE.

Years of dearly-bought experience show us the fallacy of getting something NOW through capitalist sources. We must get it by sending men of our own class on platforms of our class to the Legislatures and Executives; then when a bill in the interests of the miners is passed and declared unconstitutional, our representative will rise in his seat and move the impeachment of the Judge who does so. Knowing this, our cowardly criminal ruling class will not dare to kill our laws. In that way alone can we get something NOW.

The pluck-moisture robbery will continue. The miners' wives will be insulted by the smirking clerks of the store who in many cases render tender portions of steak for sick husbands because the mine boss or operator needs them for his well-fed families. Until the miners arise to a consciousness of the dignity of their class and organize accordingly, he will continue to be treated as he is to-day. The organization of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance is the organization.

The first two conditions are well known to the miners. "Each time they have run up the standard of defiance it has been trampled on in the mire of defeat." "Each succeeding year has seen conditions grow worse." And the pity, the shame, the horror of it all is that such will continue to be your lot, organized on your present lines. But, fortunately, there are other ways of organizing. There is that form of organization that has already sent a thrill of apprehension through the whole capitalist class. As was seen when Senator White, of California, in the debate on the Phillips bill rose in his seat in the Senate, and with his eye on the 400,000 coal miners who had so repeatedly and with such superb spirit organized again and again despite the most crushing defeats, and said: "Here is the way workingmen are commencing to organize"; and then proceeded to read the following declaration of principles of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance to the assembled representatives of the capitalist class in Congress:

"WHEREAS, In the natural development of capitalism, the class struggle between the privileged few and the disinherited masses, which is the inevitable and irrepressible outcome of the wage system, has reached a point where the old forms, methods and spirit of labor organization are absolutely impotent to resist the aggressions of concentrated capital, sustained by all the agencies of government, and to effect any permanent improvement in the condition of the wage earners, or even to arrest for any length of time their steady and general degradation; and

"WHEREAS, The economic power of the capitalist class, used by that class for the oppression of labor, rests upon institutions essentially political, which in the nature of things cannot be radically changed, or even slightly amended for the benefit of the working people, except through the direct action of the working people themselves, economically and politically united as a class;

"THEREFORE, It is as a class; conscious of its strength, aware of its rights, determined to resist wrong at every step and sworn to achieve its own emancipation, that the wage workers are hereby called upon to unite in a solid body, held together by an unconquerable spirit of solidarity under the most trying conditions of the present class struggle. As members of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance of the United States and Canada, we shall constantly keep in view its great object, namely: The summary ending of that barbarous struggle at the earliest possible time by the abolition of classes, the restoration of the land and all the means of production, transportation and distribution to the people as a collective body, and the substitution of the Co-operative Commonwealth for the present state of planless production, industrial war and social disorder; a Commonwealth in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his faculties, multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization."

The Phillips bill was passed and Michael D. Hatchford was put on the Industrial Commission to keep the miners in their pure and simple unions, so that when the next Hazleton throws its ruddy glare across the coal mining situation Senator White, Hanna, and the rest of their robber class will be on the right side of the guns while you miners with your wives and little ones will be on the wrong side.

Reverse the position. You get on the right side.

We will help you.

For of such is the S. T. & L. A.

Coal miners of America, after reading the foregoing pages, after thinking over the experience gained in your past attempts at organizing, can you not conclude that you must organize politically as well as economically if you are to gain any lasting benefit. After each of your past defeats hope crushed to earth has risen again triumphant only to be crushed once more, your aspirations and ambitions have withered like dead sea fruit in your hands. Before it is too late, before that spark of hope is extinguished in your breasts organize once more, this time political-

ly as well as economically. In doing so you will be taking no risks, because organize you must, the lash of the capitalist will force you to do so. In organizing in the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance you will have better organizers than in the U. M. W. U., because the Socialist with his footstep lights by the lamps of science knows the inner workings of the capitalist system and can save you many a fall.

The per capita tax is merely nominal, 1 cent per month, while you must pay 18 times as much to the ignoramuses who control your organizations to-day. We can do this because the S. T. & L. A. is backed by the Socialist Labor party, a powerful growing political party that at the last election gained 28,000 votes, is to-day \$3,000 strong and is already organized in 28 States. Therefore we can organize better than the pure and simpliers.

Simulinary can we boycott.

Then in the event of a strike that bond of solidarity that knits the class-conscious workers of all the world together would manifest itself so that you would receive far more assistance than you possibly can from the old union.

Furthermore, as your organization would be growing in economic strength so would it grow in political strength until village after village and town after town would fall into your hand through the political party of your class—The Socialist Labor party. Seeing this, Hazleton would be at an end for the capitalist would not dare to shoot you, knowing that the rest of your class would only be goaded in a quicker revolt and hurl them from power. Remembering always that the only vote the politician respects is the vote that is cast against the capitalist class, you must vote accordingly. Hundreds of towns in the coal producing States can be carried by the miners' vote. Capture them and look on each capture as the capturing of an outpost on your way to Washington, the seat of capitalist power.

Believing that you will do this, the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance throws open its doors and bids you welcome. We admire you for your struggles in the past. We shall be glad to march shoulder to shoulder with you in the future. We know that, unlike portions of the working class in the great cities, you have been impoverished, but never degraded. When the slum proletariat has been driven to drink by their misfortunes you have sought solace in music. There are more musical instruments in the coal mining towns than there are "school-boys" on the Bowery; you have wood Orpheus instead of Bacchus. And just because of that agrarian environment that has enabled you to do this the capitalist class fears you. Let his fear be well-grounded. Take the Alpenstock of Socialist knowledge in hand, climb on to the mountain top and gaze over the world. See the miners of Carman win trades union victories because they captured the political power in the city. See your brothers in Belgium march until to-day the Belgium throne is tottering under their onslaught and they are preparing to strike the final blow that will free them. Go you, then, slaves of the pick and lamp. Organize on the same lines. Set the beacon fires of revolutionary Socialism burning on every hill-top in each of the coal producing States. It will serve as a light of hope to your brothers in the cities; then all can join hands in the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, assisted by its twin sister, the Socialist Labor party. The fires will be kept alight until the day when the working class will have captured the political power; instituted the Socialist Republic; freed our class from slavery. Then these fires, kindled by the Alliance may die out and their ashes can be cast as in a benediction over the happy workers in a happy land.

Speed the day!
Issued by order of the
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Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance.

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THE
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HISTORY SOCIOLOGY ECONOMICS STATISTICS

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[Correspondents who prefer to appear in print under an assumed name, will attach such name to their communication, besides their own signature and address. None other will be recognized.]

Who Can Answer these Questions?

TO THE PEOPLE.—As Mr. P. J. McGuire, in his circulars, makes the statement that "organized carpenters are getting good a wage who organized under his union." I wish to ask questions of the workers of the country. Is the organized carpenter getting better pay than the ones outside?
Is the difference in their wage sufficient to pay their high dues, and leave a difference in their favor?
What becomes of all this dues money?
Why is their dues so much higher than the S. T. & L. A. dues?
Is McGuire a fakir, or a knave, which, or fool?
E. O. C.
Wichita, Kans., Feb. 17.

Turn the Search-Light on 'Em.

TO THE PEOPLE.—About two years ago there arrived in St. Louis from Baltimore a man by the name of Charles Gebelien, a member of the American Socialist Woodworkers' International Union, of which Thomas J. Kidd (who don't want to fall out with the capitalist) is the General Secretary. Mr. Gebelien was set to work to organize the workers of the Mount City at a salary of \$18 per week. He openly proclaimed that he was a Socialist, which made the members of the union, who were Socialists, very angry. But their joy was short-lived. The Socialists soon discovered that Mr. Gebelien was a labor fakir of the worst kind. He denounced the Socialist Labor party and the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, refused to meet any of its members in joint debate, and on several occasions, when he saw himself cornered by the Socialists, he took to his heels. The Socialists, however, were not to be so easily deceived. They denounced him as a fake and then joined it, which was quite natural; birds of a feather flock together. He was elected to the "Social Democrats," so-called, nominated Mr. Gebelien for Congress in the 11th District in hopes that he might get the votes of the workers of the district, who were very much disappointed when he only received 142 votes.

Last December, an incident occurred which forced down the throat of Mr. Gebelien about his being a Socialist. The Woodworkers' International Union called upon all locals to make a vote for the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance to a vote of all the members at large. St. Louis Union No. 76 amended the Declaration of Principles as follows: "The present is a class struggle, and the interests are highly antagonistic to each other. On the one side we have the capitalist class, possessing almost all of the land, houses, transportation, and all the necessities of life. In comparison to the entire population this class represents a small minority. On the other side, we have the working class, who possess nothing but their labor power, which it must sell to the capitalist class (the possessors of the means of production) in order to live. The interest of the capitalist class consists in buying labor power as cheaply as possible. To accomplish this end they utilize every device of machinery to displace laborers, thereby making superfluous laborers, that they may buy the labor power of the workmen at the lowest price. The capitalist class, by the power of the capitalist class, used by that class for the oppression of the laboring class, rests upon institutions essentially political; and with the political power they use the police, military and press to protect the possessions robbed from the working class. These conditions cannot be changed, except through the direct action of the working class themselves economically and politically united as a class. Therefore, we are hereby called upon to unite in a solid body, held together by an unconquerable spirit of solidarity under the most trying conditions of the present class struggle. As members of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance of the United States and Canada, we shall constantly keep in view its great object, namely: The summary ending of that barbarous struggle at the earliest possible time by the abolition of classes, the restoration of the land and all the means of production, transportation and distribution to the people as a collective body, and the substitution of the Co-operative Commonwealth for the present state of planless production, industrial war and social disorder; a Commonwealth in which every worker shall have the free exercise and full benefit of his faculties, multiplied by all the modern factors of civilization. To propagate through agitation and education the principles and aims of the working class, and to keep them on their feet, and to debate upon economic and political questions and the distribution of literature."

When the above two amendments came up for a vote, Mr. Gebelien promptly voted against them.

More could be shown up to prove that he is a labor fakir, but the above will suffice. The comrades in St. Louis, Pa., have a great deal to say about their town being flooded with labor fakirs. They are nothing when compared with those of St. Louis. Want of space will not permit me to give a detailed account of them, therefore I will be brief. On the 10th day of December, last year, a member of Section St. Louis, S. L. P., went to Glen Carbon, Ill., to lecture on the subject of "Machinery and its Social Effects." While there, he was informed by the members of Section Glen Carbon that a man by the name of Charles Gebelien, a member of the "Social Democrats," had a total of \$13.50 in all, for about two hours' work. When called to time for it by the Socialists he was told to go to the devil. This man, Mr. Gebelien, is an excellent member of Section St. Louis, and works hand in hand with the labor fakir in the Central Trade and Labor Union and Democratic politician, together with Mr. Stenbick, chief labor fakir of the Building Trades' Council and Republican politician, have been appointed to a seat on the Committee of Arrangements for the World's Fair, which is to be held in St. Louis in 1903. These labor fakirs will no doubt work hand in hand with the labor fakir in the committee on the committee. Capital and Labor are brothers, you know.

The Mr. Gebelien referred to above is going to Philadelphia to organize the woodworkers. He would warily consider them to keep them on his side. He will, no doubt, land in the Grundy Camp.

SEARCH-LIGHT.
St. Louis, Feb. 16.

Why? Why? Why?

TO THE PEOPLE.—I rise for information, which I hereby ask to the public of the country at large, through the Chair—THE PEOPLE.—Why did O'Sullivan punch Lew Wiener?
This question is greatly agitating the clear-sighted of Boston just now, and it starts from this circumstance: Tommy Tracy, clerkmaster, requested the Label Committee of Union 97, Clearmakers' International Union, to grant him a sum of money. The Label Committee declined to do so, on the ground that if there was any dues or assessments, collected from the clearmakers of Boston, to be blown in, there were men on the ground. Mr. Tracy to have a good time and appreciate the blessings of high dues and plenty of assessments.

Not content with this refusal, Tracy appeared before the Executive Board of the Union, who granted his request. But immediately there was a spoke thrust into Tracy's wheel. The President of the Union, Lew Wiener, having heard of the action of the Executive Board, forbade the Treasurer to pay any money to Tracy until the Union, as a body, voted on it. At the next meeting, the question was brought before the body, and the Union refused to grant Tracy the money.

The next day, John J. O'Sullivan, not a clearmaker but a political labor fakir of the town, meets Wiener, the President, and gives him a big kick in the back. Can it be possible that the fakirs have started to fight among themselves? Or was John J. to be a sharer with Tommy Tracy in the Union money which Lew Wiener checked? Or was it on the principle that Lew's act was high treason against fakirdom?
Everywhere these questions are now

asked, and all the questions close with, Why did O'Sullivan punch Wiener?
PURELY AND SIMPLY INNOCENT.
Boston, Feb. 20.

As to Expressions.

TO THE PEOPLE.—In the matter of the expression "blood sucking parasites," sprung by Jas. N. Boulton, I think the expression entirely proper. I have used the expression when referring to myself. I have spent a number of years as a "commercial sales man," traveling over a large portion of the United States at a cost of \$5 to \$10 per day to society and not taking produce or distribution out of the country, and I am a "blood sucking parasite."

This does not mean that I am necessarily an personally a bad man, but that I am a parasite on the system. I have no right to occupy positions which would have no place in a better and more efficient system.

I am also a butter and cheese maker, and if I could choose my occupation, I would make butter and cheese in return for other goods things made for me, but the same plan is not feasible. I have no right to make these things, although millions of our people have none of them, yet if I suffered to do so I can with modern machinery make as much butter and cheese as I could want, and thousands of people can eat in a day by working not over eight hours.

Our revolution is peaceful, but suppose we elect a President who would allow the capitalist attempts what the slave owning capitalist of the South did in 1861, i. e., resist by force a change of the laws—what then? The answer is, "the revolution." But in a twinkling of a "cheer's" tail," then begin and build up a Co-operative Commonwealth.

Socialists should remember that we are of one class, the capitalists another and they may conclude to "kill us off." If so, we must get out our "flint locks" and defend our class.

C. LIPSCOMB.
Fort Scott, Kans., Feb. 17.

II.

TO THE PEOPLE.—My opinion is that if one human being is taken from another by any scheme at all of the value of the labor of which he has not had the same opportunity to study and understand the system we call blood sucking parasites, then he is a blood sucking parasite. It is a "blood sucking parasite," rightly named. The same is true of the "blood sucking parasite," as I understand it. If one man robs another of any portion of his labor value, he is in reality taking the food from his fellow man, and he is a blood sucking parasite, and, as I understand, the meaning of a parasite is a living or hanging on another, so we can't call them anything else. As to the revolution, whether we are blood sucking parasites, they are against the brotherhood and there is, in my opinion, no language strong enough to condemn them. We must call a spade a spade if we want them to understand what we think of their actions in the matter and as long as they remain blood sucking parasites they will not join the brotherhood. They will only join the brotherhood when they are no longer blood sucking parasites. We are now troubled with them, and we must find a way to get rid of them. I sometimes find language strong enough to express myself when I read, hear and see the results of the rotten system under which we live.

R. BAKER.
Brandon, Man., Feb. 18.

III.

TO THE PEOPLE.—Since I never asked for space before in THE PEOPLE I would like to have some now to try and explain a little about Socialism to James N. Boulton, and especially since he asks the opinions of the "people" on the question, it is evident that he must be a new recruit since he does not recognize the class struggle.

The class struggle is to Socialism what the struggle is to the working class. It is a struggle for the working class to become a human. The flowers would wither and die without sunlight, the animal would die without food, so also would Socialism die without the working class. The class struggle ceases we will have the Co-operative Commonwealth; then there will be no CLASSES to contend. All will have an equal right to the wealth of the world, and all will be happy. Only ONE CLASS, J. N. Boulton has no comprehension of the class struggle. If the writer of the pamphlet referred to, James N. Boulton, were a Socialist, he should be a Socialist. He should be a Socialist, and anything which would meet with their approval, i. e., to call things by their names, that they proper names, then they would be Socialists. That would be Capitalism. Now, Comrade Boulton should learn that Socialism and Capitalism are the two enemies of the social order. The class struggle is the only class struggle. Therefore, they cannot be recognized. Socialism is the cause of the wage slaves against their oppressors, the capitalist class. The class struggle is a great majority. Under the present system or rather confusion—capitalism—the ratio numerically between the oppressor and the oppressed is such that it must expand. Therefore success must crown the efforts of CLASS-CONSCIOUS WORKERS. No class-conscious worker can be any assistance as such from oppressors. The only assistance they can render is the despotic persecution which they, driven by the inexorable law of competition, must inflict on them.

The capitalist class—the "blood sucking parasites" referred to—are living in riot, opulence and luxurious prodigality at the expense of the working class. They think that they will throw up the sponge and assist us in ushering in the Co-operative Commonwealth if we only call them some angelic names. That is what "preachers" and all "reformers" have done since the dawn of civilization, and that they are doing to-day. I ask you to witness the working class development of capitalism: The cities on the "hill" and the slums in the "hollow." To expect men who can gratify every material ambition except, perhaps, the impossible one of becoming a King, to give up wealth to drop the snap they have got and join us, reveals surely a very rudimentary knowledge of Socialism. Those people who call the capitalist class "blood sucking parasites" cannot put up with hardships, which custom has enabled the working class to endure. Even if the impossible, or at least the improbable, should come to us, we could not take care of them, until such time as we are given control of the machinery of production.

But there is no need of worrying about this for that evident passion inseparable from man—selfishness—will settle that question. It is not in the nature of the working class to keep their proper names. It is a capitalist habit to call things by other than their proper names, so their gold brick schemes

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